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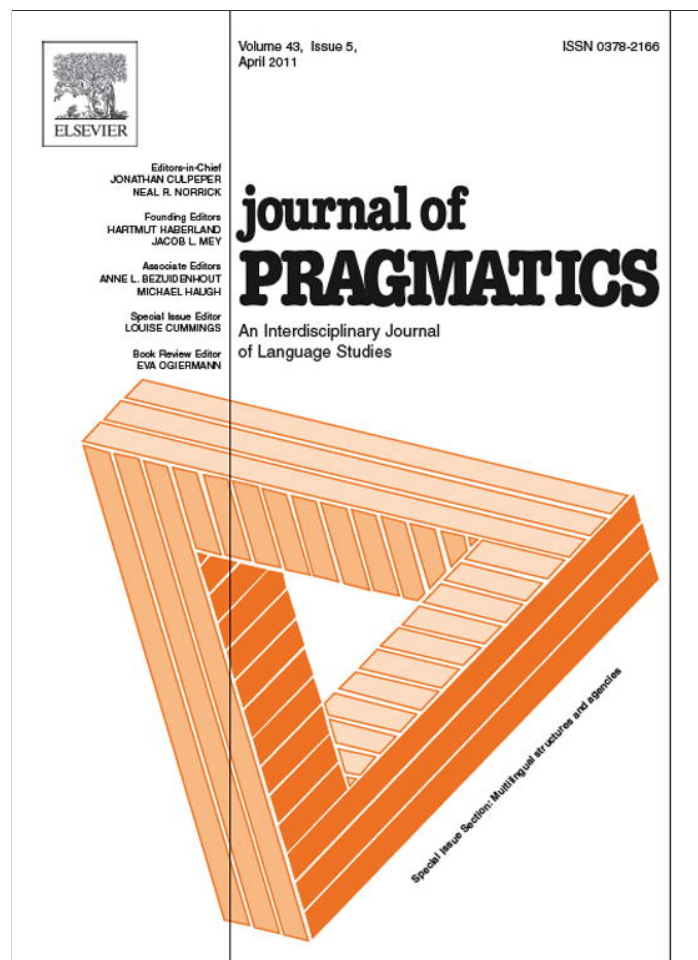
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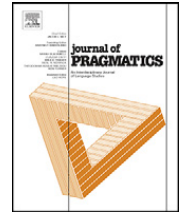
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Urban multilingualism in Europe: Educational responses to increasing diversity

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ABSTRACT

After a brief introduction on regional and immigrant minority languages across Europe (1), we will deal with multilingualism and language rights (2). Next, we will go into the European discourse on foreigners and integration (3). Against this background, we will offer cross-national perspectives on community language teaching, derived from the findings of the *Multilingual Cities Project* on current practices in this domain in six major European cities and countries (4). In the final section, we will offer a reconciliation of the MCP outcomes with the current European discourse on trilingualism (5).

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1. Introduction

In the European Union (EU henceforward) context, the discourse on multilingualism and language diversity does not always reflect the social and educational reality. Language diversity as a constituent property of Europe's identity is mostly illustrated by reference to the national languages. Regional or immigrant minority (RM and IM henceforward) languages are usually not included in this picture. IM languages are commonly associated with problems of poverty, underachievement in schools, social and cultural problems, as well as lack of integration into the society of residence. Even though policy makers make a sharp distinction between RM and IM languages, these languages have much in common. On their sociolinguistic, educational, and political agendas, we find issues such as their actual spread, their domestic and public vitality, the processes and determinants of language maintenance versus shift towards majority languages, the relationship between language, ethnicity, and identity, and the status of minority languages in schools, in particular in the compulsory stages of primary and secondary education. Nevertheless, these two groups of minorities are treated differently by European policy makers (Extra and Gorter, 2008). The issues of democratic citizenship, language rights of RM versus IM groups, and social cohesion versus linguistic diversity remain to be unresolved issues facing immigrant-receiving societies (see Extra and Yağmur, 2004:73–92 for a detailed discussion). The gap between democratic ideals in European nation-states and daily educational experiences of IM groups in schools continues to challenge nation-state ideologies. Policy-makers still persistently ignore the bottom-up push for pluralism. The act of abolishing home language instruction for IM children in primary schools in some EU countries shows that some languages are not yet admissible in the classroom and in the schoolyard.

There is much published evidence on the status and use of RM languages, both in Europe and abroad (e.g., Gorter et al., 1990). Baetens Beardsmore (1993) focuses on RM languages in Western Europe, whereas the focus of Synak and

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Wicherkiewicz (1997), Bratt-Paulston and Peckham (1998), and Hogan-Brun and Wolff (2003) is on RM languages in Central and Eastern Europe. Given the overwhelming focus on mainstream language acquisition by IM groups, there is much less evidence on the status and use of IM languages across Europe. In contrast to RM languages, IM languages have no established status in terms of period and area of residence. Across Europe, large contrasts occur in the status of IM languages at school, depending on particular nation-states, or even particular federal states within nation-states (as in Germany), and depending on particular IM languages, being national languages in other European (Union) countries or not. Most commonly, IM languages are not part of mainstream education. In Great Britain, for example, IM languages are not part of the so-called 'national' curriculum, and they are dealt with in various types of so-called 'complementary' education at out-of-school hours (e.g., Martin et al., 2004).

2. Multilingualism and language regimes

Derived from Max Weber (1968, cited in Laitin, 2000), Laitin makes a distinction between a "rationalized" language regime and a "multilingual" regime. If a language is imposed as the only language for educational and administrative purposes, the state has a "rationalized" language regime. According to Laitin (2000:151), states can achieve language rationalization by three different methods: a) rationalization through the recognition of a *lingua franca* (such as Swahili in Tanzania or Bahasa in Indonesia), b) rationalization through the recognition of the language of a majority group (French in France or Han Chinese in China), and c) rationalization through the recognition of the language of a minority group (imposition of Amharic on Ethiopia or Afrikaans in South Africa). If states have not pursued any form of rationalization or were obliged by the social and political circumstances to recognize language rights of minority populations, then these states are said to have multilingual regimes. There are different forms of multilingual regimes with varying numbers of languages. In India, for instance, one can talk of language repertoires of 3 plus/minus 1 language regime. Different languages are used for different purposes in different domains: Hindi for state documents, English for higher civil services and big business, and the state language for state services and education. Besides, an additional language is used for communication in the domestic domain and within a particular group. There is also the 2 plus/minus 1 regime, in which in addition to the mainstream language another legalized language is used, e.g., Spanish (with Basque, Catalan) or Russian (with one or two official languages in federal republics plus a variety of minority languages). In some multilingual contexts, some minority group members have neither the regional language nor the mainstream language as their mother tongue. Such speakers are often trilingual. For instance, Turkish speakers in Friesland in the Netherlands may be trilingual in Dutch, Fries, and Turkish. Yet, Turkish does not have any form of status in the mainstream society. Most IM communities within EU countries share this *de facto* multilingual position.

In the 21st century, humankind is still preoccupied with securing basic human rights, one of which is language rights. Based on the evidence obtained from the Multilingual Cities Project, this article focuses on the differences between the official rhetoric on language rights and actual language teaching practice in six European Union countries. A brief reference to language rights is presented here so that conflicting language teaching practices with respect to regional versus immigrant languages can be understood. For a detailed and in-depth treatment of language rights we refer to Duchene (2008), Grin (2003), May (2008), and Wright (2004). Skutnabb-Kangas (1995:7) suggests that "there should be no need to debate the right to maintain and develop one's mother tongue. It is a self-evident, fundamental, basic linguistic human right." Yet, what is obvious in one context is unimaginable in another context, especially in countries where linguistic diversity is seen as the principal threat to social cohesion and national unity. In European nation-states, IM languages are commonly conceived of as a problem in achieving national cohesion and homogeneity. However, due to massive population shifts of people from different ethnolinguistic backgrounds, more and more countries are experiencing migration flows. In addition to the traditional forms of migration, there are also new forms of population movements, such as overseas students and highly qualified professionals, who mostly offer their knowledge and expertise to transnational companies or universities. This diversity of population flows is an essential component of the globalization process and it results in increasing linguistic diversity of the host societies and in challenging traditional monolingual institutions.

Compared to the lack of affirmative action in most EU countries, yesterday's less democratic countries such as South Africa and the Russian Federation have taken more policy measures to secure language rights of individuals and groups. Given the extreme assimilation policies of Soviet Russia from the 1930s till the late 1980s, the recognition of linguistic human rights by the Supreme Soviet in October 1991 is remarkable. In the *Declaration of Human Rights and Freedoms* (cited in Leontiev, 1995), it is stated that "every person is guaranteed the right to use the mother tongue, to have education through the medium of the mother tongue, and the protection and growth of the national culture." According to Leontiev (1995:204), the Russian position "contrasts sharply with some recent documents of European origin which contain absolutely empty formulations like everyone has the right of expression in any language." Indeed, actions speak louder than words. Russian legislation provided provisions for minority language teaching in different Republics, such as Altai or Bashkortostan, where all ethnolinguistic groups are entitled to instruction in their own languages. All parents are encouraged to demand home language instruction for their children. In principle, all languages are equal for legislation and there has been a considerable increase in the number of native language educational institutions in Bashkortostan (Graney, 1999). Current practice shows that the Russians did not only opt for eloquent documents but they also provided the conditions for implementation. Yet ethnic Russians, like Anglo-Americans or Anglo-Australians, remain largely monolingual.

To present another context, multilingualism is an inherent characteristic of India. Annamalai (1995) reports that there are about 200 recognized languages, many of which are used in education, administration and the mass media. The language

policy has been to teach a minimum of three languages in schools, which is known as the *three language formula*. These three languages consist of Hindi and English (two official languages of the Union) plus the official language of the particular state. Students who complete ten years of secondary schooling will have learned at least three languages.

The Australian discourse on multilingualism and language rights has a somewhat different color than the cases mentioned before. Starting with a policy of assimilation, Australians ultimately opted for full-fledged multiculturalism. The Senate looked at language issues in terms of rights, needs, and resources for cultural diversity, trade and diplomacy. The recommendations of the Senate were developed into a National Policy on Languages (Lo Bianco, 1987). Interestingly, the concept of 'rights' has different implications in the Australian context and policy makers avoid the use of this term in policy documents. According to Ozolins (1993), Australia has resolutely avoided a language rights-based approach to language and multicultural policy, preferring instead a stronger language policy-based approach.

Below we offer an overview of major agencies and documents on language rights at the global and European level. Major agencies at the global level are the United Nations and UNESCO, and at the European level the European Union, in Brussels, and the Council of Europe, in Strasbourg.

United Nations (UN)

- Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948)
- International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (1966)
- Convention on the Rights of the Child (1989)
- Declaration of the Rights of Persons Belonging to National or Ethnic, Religious and Linguistic Minorities (1992)

UNESCO

- Universal Declaration on Linguistic Rights (1996)
- Universal Declaration of Cultural Diversity (update 2002)
- Education in a Multilingual World (2003)

Council of the European Communities (now EU, established in Brussels)

- Directive on the schooling of children of migrant workers (1977)

Council of Europe (established in Strasbourg)

- European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages (1998)
- Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities (update 2003)

Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE)

- The Hague Recommendations Regarding the Education Rights of National Minorities (1996)
- Oslo Recommendations Regarding the Linguistic Rights of National Minorities (1998)

The overview makes clear that there are differences in both the terminology of the documents and the target groups under discussion. The documents refer to such concepts as declarations, directives or recommendations, all of them having a different legal status and binding power. Moreover, the documents may focus on particular individuals and/or groups. There is a growing international awareness that, irrespective of the fundamental freedoms of the individual as expressed most notably in the *Universal Declaration of Human Rights* adopted by the General Assembly of the United Nations in December 1948, minority groups have rights that should be acknowledged and accommodated as well. As a result, the recognition and protection of minorities has become a significant issue in international law.

In most European documents on language rights, IM groups are deliberately excluded and cannot claim any linguistic or cultural rights. In addition to this double yardstick for minority rights, there are further inconsistencies in EU policies on minorities. For admission of new states to the EU, such as Bulgaria or Turkey, the EU put certain rules and conditions with regard to respecting minority rights. It is highly ironical that the Copenhagen principles have to be obeyed by the candidate states for admission but some of the member states do not even implement these principles themselves. The loose and non-binding nature of European documents encourages member states to make their own decisions. Most documents contain very broad principles lacking concrete terms and conditions for implementation but the *European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages* contains such terms and conditions. The political power of RM groups and their associations enables them to claim their language rights but much less influential IM groups remain helpless. The differential treatment of regional versus immigrant minorities might continue for an indefinite period of time because the discourse of assimilation of immigrants "is still widely heard" and "linguistic space is only opening up for territorial rather than migrant groups" (Wright, 2004:199).

In many of these documents, cultural pluralism or diversity is conceived as a prerequisite for, and not a threat to, social cohesion or integration. A plea for reconciling the concepts of diversity and cohesion has also been made by the Migration Policy Group (2000), in co-operation with the European Cultural Foundation, on the basis of a comprehensive survey and evaluation of available policy documents and new policy developments and orientations. The Migration Policy Group's

report puts 'historic' and 'new' minorities in Europe in an overarching context. Both types of minorities significantly contributed and contribute to Europe's cultural, religious, linguistic and ethnic diversity. As yet, European nation-states are reluctant to recognize and respect this diversity as part of their national, and increasingly European, identity.

Most legislations and charters concerning IM languages are exclusion-oriented. European countries are calling out for unification and pluralism through EU policies but their discourse concerning IM groups is discriminatory in nature. The *European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages* guarantees only the rights of RM groups. Allocating special rights to one group of minorities and denying the same rights to other groups is hard to explain with the principle of equal human rights for everyone. Besides, most of the so-called 'migrants' in EU countries have taken up the citizenship of the countries where they live, and in many cases they belong to second or third generation groups. German-Russian immigrants, most of whom cannot even speak German, immigrating from Russia to Germany, easily take up German citizenship on the basis of their blood-bond, but second or third generation Turkish immigrants, who are fluent in German, are denied such rights in Germany. Such exclusion-oriented policies are compatible with neither language rights nor human rights. The demographic development in the EU compels policy makers to reconsider their position concerning language rights. IM groups belong increasingly to a third or later generation of descendants, most of whom possess the citizenship of the countries where they live. Against this background, there is a growing need of overarching human rights for every individual, irrespective of his/her ethnic, cultural, religious, or linguistic background (Extra and Gorter, 2008).

3. The European discourse on foreigners and integration

In the European public discourse on IM groups, two major characteristics emerge: IM groups are often referred to as foreigners (*étrangers*, *Ausländer*) and as being in need of integration. First of all, it is common practice to refer to IM groups in terms of non-national residents and to their languages in terms of non-territorial, non-regional, non-indigenous, or non-European languages. The call for integration is in sharp contrast with this language of exclusion. The conceptual exclusion rather than inclusion in the European public discourse derives from a restrictive interpretation of the notions of citizenship and nationality. From a historical point of view, such notions are commonly shaped by a constitutional *ius sanguinis* (law of the blood), in terms of which nationality derives from parental origins, in contrast to *ius soli* (law of the ground), in terms of which nationality derives from the country of birth. When European emigrants left their continent in the past and colonized countries abroad, they legitimized their claim to citizenship by spelling out *ius soli* in the constitutions of these countries of settlement. Good examples of this strategy can be found in English-dominant immigration countries like the USA, Canada, Australia, and South Africa. In establishing the constitutions of these (sub-) continents, no consultation took place with native inhabitants, such as Indians, Inuit, Aborigines, and Zulus, respectively. At home, however, Europeans predominantly upheld *ius sanguinis* in their constitutions and/or perceptions of nationality and citizenship, in spite of the growing numbers of newcomers who strive for equal status as citizens.

Smith and Blanc (1995) discuss different conceptions and definitions of citizenship within a number of European nation-states, in particular Great Britain, France, and Germany. They argue that, in the former two countries, citizenship is commonly defined on the basis of a mixture of territoriality and ethnicity, whereas in the latter country, citizenship is commonly defined directly on the basis of ethnicity. Nationality laws based strongly upon ethnicity are more restrictive of access to all dimensions of citizenship than those with a greater territorial element. Along similar lines, Janoski and Glennie (1995) discuss different types of responses from nation-states to the issue of full citizenship for those who originate from abroad. Some nation-states make extensive efforts to naturalize immigrants and offer them full citizenship, whereas other nation-states are reluctant to do so and even place obstacles in their way. Janoski and Glennie (1995:21) argue that countries with a strong colonial past are much more inclined to offer naturalization than countries without such tradition. The non-colonizer scenario of reluctance or closure applies to a number of European nation-states. In contrast, traditional settler nations such as Canada, the USA, and Australia have developed an inclusive conception of citizenship rights, and have become more open to immigrants from different ethnic, religious, or linguistic backgrounds. Rapid processes of demographic transformation in Europe have provided a fertile soil for extreme right-wing parties and movements to target IM groups as 'enemies within' who are ultimately 'outsiders' or 'foreigners'. One should add that reference to 'foreigners' is also often maintained in the European public discourse for those who have in fact acquired full citizenship of the nation-state in which they live. For instance, the former Dutch Minister of Integration wanted all those immigrants to go through integration classes even if they have Dutch passports; on the basis of the Dutch constitution, however, the Council of State decided that this would be a discriminatory act against the principle of equal treatment.

A second major characteristic of the European public discourse on IM groups is the focus on integration. This notion is both popular and vague, and it may actually refer to a whole spectrum of underlying concepts that vary over space and time. Miles and Thränhardt (1995), Bauböck et al. (1996), and Kruyt and Niessen (1997) are good examples of comparative case studies on the notion of integration in a variety of EU countries that have been faced with increasing immigration since the early 1970s. The extremes of the conceptual spectrum range from assimilation to multiculturalism. The concept of assimilation is based on the premise that cultural differences between IM groups and established majority groups should and will disappear over time in a society which is proclaimed to be culturally homogeneous. On the other side of the spectrum, the concept of multiculturalism is based on the premise that such differences are an asset to a pluralist society, which actually promotes cultural diversity in terms of new resources and opportunities. While the concept of assimilation focuses on unilateral tasks of newcomers, the concept of multiculturalism focuses on multilateral tasks for all inhabitants in

changing societies. In practice, established majority groups often make strong demands on IM groups to assimilate and are commonly very reluctant to promote or even accept the notion of cultural diversity as a determining characteristic of an increasingly multicultural environment.

It is interesting to compare the underlying assumptions of 'integration' in the European public discourse on IM groups at the national level with assumptions at the level of cross-national cooperation and legislation. In the latter context, European politicians are eager to stress the importance of a proper balance between the loss and the maintenance of 'national' norms and values. A prime concern in the public debate on such norms and values is cultural and linguistic diversity, mainly in terms of the national languages of the EU. National languages are often referred to as core values of cultural identity. Paradoxically, in the same public discourse, IM languages and cultures are commonly conceived of as sources of problems and deficits and as obstacles to integration, while national languages and cultures in an expanding EU are regarded as sources of enrichment and as prerequisites for integration.

The public discourse on the integration of IM groups in terms of assimilation versus multiculturalism can also be noticed in the domain of education. Due to a growing influx of IM pupils, European schools are faced with the challenge of adapting their curricula to this trend. The pattern of modification may be inspired by a strong and unilateral emphasis on learning (in) the language of the majority of society, given the significance of this language for success in school and on the labor market, or by the awareness that the response to emerging multicultural school populations cannot be reduced to monolingual education programming (Gogolin, 1994). In the former case, the focus is on learning (in) the national language as a second language only, in the latter case, on offering more languages in the school curriculum.

4. Cross-national perspectives on community language teaching

Across Europe, large contrasts occur in the status of IM languages at school, depending on particular nation-states, or even particular federal states within nation-states (as in Germany), and depending on particular IM languages, being national languages in other EU countries or not. Most commonly, IM languages are not part of mainstream education. Here we present the most salient outcomes of the *Multilingual Cities Project* (MCP), a multiple case study in six major multicultural cities in different EU member states (Extra and Yağmur, 2004). The aims of the MCP were to gather, analyze, and compare multiple data on the status of IM languages at home and at school. In the participating cities, ranging from Northern to Southern Europe (Göteborg, Hamburg, The Hague, Brussels, Lyon, and Madrid), Germanic and/or Romance languages have a dominant status in public and educational life.

Being aware of cross-national differences in denotation, we will use the concept of *community language teaching* (CLT) instead of home language instruction or mother tongue education. Our rationale for using the concept of CLT is the inclusion of a broad spectrum of potential target groups. First of all, the status of an IM language as a 'native' or 'home' language can change over time through intergenerational processes of language shift. Moreover, in secondary education, both minority and majority pupils are often *de iure* (although seldom *de facto*) admitted to CLT (in the Netherlands, e.g., Turkish is a secondary school subject referred to as 'Turkish' rather than 'home language instruction'; compare also the concepts of *Enseignement des Langues et Cultures d'Origine* and *Enseignement des Langues Vivantes* in French primary and secondary schools, respectively).

In all countries involved in the MCP, there has been an increase in the number of IM pupils who speak a language at home other than or in addition to the mainstream language in primary and secondary education. Schools have largely responded to this home-school language mismatch by paying more attention to the learning and teaching of the mainstream language as a second language. A great deal of energy and money is being spent on developing curricula, teaching materials, and teacher training for second-language education. CLT stands in stark contrast to this, as it is much more susceptible to an ideological debate about its legitimacy. While there is consensus about the necessity of investing in second-language education for IM pupils, there is a lack of support for CLT. IM languages are commonly considered sources of problems and deficiencies, and they are rarely seen as sources of knowledge and enrichment. Policy makers, local educational authorities, headmasters of schools, and teachers of 'regular' subjects often have reservations or negative attitudes towards CLT. On the other hand, parents of IM pupils, CLT teachers, and IM organizations often make a case for including IM languages in the school curriculum. These differences in top-down and bottom-up attitudes were found in all the cities and countries investigated.

From a historical point of view, most of the countries involved in the MCP show a similar chronological development in their argumentation in favor of CLT. CLT was generally introduced into primary education with a view to family remigration. This objective was also clearly expressed in *Directive 77/486* of the European Community, on 25 July 1977. The Directive focused on the education of the children of 'migrant workers' with the aim 'principally to facilitate their possible reintegration into the Member State of origin'. As is clear from this formulation, the Directive excluded all IM children originating from non-EU countries, although these children form(ed) the large part of IM children in European primary schools. At that time, Sweden was not an EU member state, and CLT policies for IM children in Sweden were not directed towards remigration but modeled according to bilingual education policies for the large minority of Finnish-speaking children in Sweden.

During the 1970s, the above argumentation for CLT was increasingly abandoned. Demographic developments showed no substantial signs of remigrating families. Instead, a process of family reunion and minorization came about in the host countries. This development resulted in a conceptual shift, and CLT became primarily aimed at combating disadvantages. CLT had to bridge the gap between the home and the school environment, and to support school achievement in 'regular'

subjects. Because such an approach tended to underestimate the intrinsic value of CLT, a number of countries began to emphasize the importance of CLT from a cultural, legal, or economic perspective:

- from a cultural perspective, CLT contributes to maintaining and advancing a pluriform society;
- from a legal perspective, CLT meets the internationally recognized right to language transmission and language maintenance, and acknowledges the fact that many IM groups consider their own language as a core value of cultural identity in a context of migration and minorization;
- from an economic perspective, CLT leads to an important pool of profitable knowledge in societies which are increasingly internationally oriented.

The historical development of arguments for CLT in terms of remigration, combating deficiencies, and multicultural policy is evident in some German states, in particular North Rhine-Westphalia and Hamburg. In most countries in our study, however, cultural policy is tied in with the mainstream language to such an extent that CLT is tolerated only in the margins. Cultural motives have played a rather important role in Sweden. It should, however, be noted that multicultural arguments for CLT have not led to an educational policy in which the status of IM languages has been substantially advanced in any of the countries involved in our study.

Derived from Extra and Yağmur (2004), we give a cross-national overview of nine parameters of CLT in primary and secondary education that were taken into account in each of the six countries involved in the MCP, i.e., Sweden, Germany, the Netherlands, Belgium, France and Spain. CLT for primary school children came to an abrupt nationwide end in the Netherlands in 2004 as being 'in contradiction with integration', and the information presented is therefore in retrospect.

4.1. Target groups

The target groups for CLT in primary schools are commonly IM children, defined as such in a narrow or broad sense. Narrow definitions commonly relate to the range of languages taught and/or to children's proficiency in these languages. The most restrictive set of languages is taught in Spain, i.e., Arabic and Portuguese only, for Moroccan and Portuguese (-speaking) children, respectively. A wide range of languages is taught in Sweden and Germany. The Netherlands, Belgium, and France take/took an intermediate position. Sweden and France demand from the target groups an active use of the languages at home and a basic proficiency in these languages. Special target groups in Sweden are adopted children; in Germany, ethnic German children from abroad; and in France, speakers of recognized RM languages. Sweden has the most explicit policy for access to CLT in terms of 'home language' (nowadays, back to 'mother tongue') instead of socio-economic status. The target groups for CLT in secondary schools are commonly those who participated in CLT in primary schools. *De iure*, all pupils are allowed to CLT in the Netherlands, independent of ethnolinguistic background; *de facto*, most commonly, a subset of IM pupils takes part. CLT for secondary school pupils is almost non-existent in Belgium, and limited to Arabic and Portuguese in a few secondary schools in Spain.

4.2. Arguments

The arguments for CLT are formulated in terms of a struggle against deficits and/or in terms of multicultural policy. Whereas the former type of argument predominates in primary education, the latter type predominates in secondary education. The vague concept of 'integration' utilized in all countries under discussion may relate to any of these arguments. Deficit arguments may be phrased in terms of bridging the home/school gap, promoting mainstream language learning, promoting school success in other ('regular') subjects, preventing educational failure, or overcoming marginalization. Multicultural arguments may be phrased in terms of promoting cultural identity and self-esteem, promoting cultural pluralism, promoting multilingualism in a multicultural and globalizing society, and avoiding ethnic prejudice. Whereas in the Netherlands and Belgium deficit arguments dominate(d), multicultural arguments tend to play a greater role in the other countries. Deficit arguments for CLT are almost absent in secondary schools, and multicultural arguments are commonly favored in all countries.

4.3. Objectives

The objectives of CLT in primary schools are rarely specified in terms of language skills to be acquired. The vague concept of 'active bilingualism' has been a common objective in Sweden, whereas in Germany and Spain, reference is made to the development of oral and written language skills, language awareness, and (inter)cultural skills. In none of these cases have more particular specifications been introduced. In contrast, the objectives of CLT in secondary schools are commonly specified in terms of particular oral and written skills to be reached at intermediate stages and/or at the end of secondary schooling.

4.4. Evaluation

The evaluation of achievement through CLT may take place informally and/or formally. Informal evaluation takes place by means of subjective oral and/or written teachers' impressions or comments, meant for parents at regular intervals, e.g., once per semester or year. Formal evaluation takes place using more or less objective language proficiency measurement and language proficiency report figures, e.g., once per semester or year. Informal evaluation may occur in lower grades of primary

schooling, formal evaluation in higher grades (e.g., in Sweden). In most countries, however, no report figures for CLT are provided throughout the primary school curriculum, and report figures for 'language' commonly refer implicitly to proficiency in the mainstream language. If CLT report figures are given (e.g., in France), such figures commonly do not have the same status as report figures for other subjects. The evaluation of achievement through CLT in secondary schools takes place formally through assessment instruments and examinations. Here, report figures may have a regular or peripheral status. The former holds in particular for Sweden, Germany, and the Netherlands.

4.5. *Minimal enrolment*

Minimal enrolment requirements for CLT may be specified at the level of the class, the school, or even the municipality at large. The latter is common practice only in Sweden, and the minimal enrolment requirement for children from different classes/schools in Sweden was five in 2004. Secondary schools in Sweden may also opt for CLT if at least five pupils enroll. All other countries are more reluctant, with minimal requirements for primary school pupils ranging between 10 and 20 (Germany, Belgium, France), or without any specification (the Netherlands and Spain). In the latter case, enrolment restrictions are commonly based on budget constraints.

4.6. *Curricular status*

In all countries, CLT at primary schools takes place on a voluntary and optional basis, provided at the request of parents. Instruction may take place within or outside regular school hours. The latter is most common in Sweden, Belgium, and France. Germany, the Netherlands (until 2004), and Spain allow(ed) for two models of instruction, either within or outside regular school hours, depending on the type of language (in Germany), the type of goal (auxiliary or intrinsic in the Netherlands), and the type of organization (in integrated or parallel classes in Spain). The number of CLT hours varies between 1 and 5 h per week. If CLT takes place at secondary schools, it is considered a regular and optional subject within school hours in all countries under consideration.

4.7. *Funding*

The funding of CLT may depend on national, regional, or local educational authorities in the country/municipality of residence and/or on the consulates/embassies of the countries of origin. In the latter case, consulates or embassies commonly recruit and provide the teachers, and they are also responsible for teacher (in-service) training. Funding through the country and/or municipality of residence takes/took place in Sweden and the Netherlands. Funding through the consulates/embassies of the countries of origin takes place in Belgium and Spain. A mixed type of funding occurs in Germany and in France. In Germany, the source of funding is dependent on particular languages or organizational models for CLT. In France, source countries fund CLT in primary schools, whereas the French ministry of education funds CLT in secondary schools.

4.8. *Teaching materials*

Teaching materials for CLT may originate from the countries of origin or of residence of the pupils. Funding from ministries, municipalities, and/or publishing houses occurs in Sweden, Germany, and the Netherlands, although limited resources are available. Source country funding for CLT occurs in Belgium and Spain. In France, source countries fund teaching materials in primary schools, whereas the French Ministry of Education funds teaching materials in secondary schools.

4.9. *Teacher qualifications*

Teacher qualifications for CLT may depend on educational authorities in the countries of residence or of origin. National or statewide (in-service) teacher training programs for CLT at primary and/or secondary schools exist in Sweden, Germany, and the Netherlands, although the appeal of these programs is limited, given the many uncertainties about CLT job perspectives. In Belgium and Spain, teacher qualifications depend on educational authorities in the countries of origin. France has a mixed system of responsibilities: source countries are responsible for teacher qualifications in primary schools, whereas the French Ministry of Education is responsible for teacher qualifications in secondary schools.

Table 1 gives a cross-national summary of the outcomes of all nine parameters.

Table 1 shows that there are remarkable cross-national differences in the status of CLT. There are also considerable differences between primary and secondary education in the status of CLT. A comparison of all nine parameters makes clear that CLT has gained a higher status in secondary schools than in primary schools. In primary education, CLT is generally not part of the 'regular' or 'national' curriculum, and, therefore, becomes a negotiable entity in a complex and often opaque interplay between a variety of actors. Another remarkable difference is that, in some countries, CLT is funded by the consulates or embassies of the countries of origin. In these cases, the national government does not interfere in the organization of CLT, or in the requirements for, and the selection and employment of teachers. A paradoxical consequence of this phenomenon is that the earmarking of CLT budgets is often safeguarded by the above-mentioned consulates or embassies. National, regional, or local governments often fail to earmark budgets, so that funds meant for CLT may be appropriated for other educational purposes.

Table 1

Status of CLT in European primary and secondary education, according to 9 parameters in 6 countries (Sw/G/N/B/F/Sp = Sweden/Germany/Netherlands until 2004/Belgium/France/Spain) (Extra and Yağmur, 2004:385).

CLT parameters	Primary education	Secondary education
1 Target groups	IM children in a narrow vs. broad definition in terms of <ul style="list-style-type: none"> the spectrum of languages taught (Sp vs. N B F vs. G Sw) active language use and basic language proficiency (Sw F vs. G N B Sp) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <i>de iure</i>: mostly IM pupils; sometimes all pupils (in particular N) <i>de facto</i>: IM pupils in a narrow vs. broad sense (see left) (limited participation, in particular B Sp)
2 Arguments	mostly in terms of a struggle against deficits, rarely in terms of multicultural policies (N B vs. other countries)	mostly in terms of multicultural policies, rarely in terms of deficits (all countries)
3 Objectives	rarely specified in terms of (meta)linguistic and (inter)cultural skills (Sw G Sp vs. N B F)	specified in terms of oral and written skills to be reached at interim and final stages (all countries)
4 Evaluation	mostly informal/subjective through teacher, rarely formal/objective through measurement and school report figures (Sw G F vs. B N Sp)	formal/objective assessment plus school report figures (Sw G N vs. B F Sp)
5 Minimal enrolment	specified at the level of classes, schools, or municipalities (Sw vs. G B F vs. N Sp)	specified at the level of classes, schools, or municipalities (Sw N vs. other countries)
6 Curricular status	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> voluntary and optional within vs. outside regular school hours (G N Sp vs. S B F) 1–5 h per week 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> voluntary and optional within regular school hours one/more lessons per week (all countries)
7 Funding	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> by national, regional or local educational authorities by consulates/embassies of countries of origin (Sw N vs. B Sp, mixed G F) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> by national, regional or local educational authorities by consulates/embassies of countries of origin (Sw N F vs. B Sp, mixed G)
8 Teaching materials	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> from countries of residence from countries of origin (Sw G N vs. B F Sp) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> from countries of residence from countries of origin (Sw G N F vs. B Sp)
9 Teacher qualifications	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> from countries of residence from countries of origin (Sw G N vs. B F Sp) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> from countries of residence from countries of origin (Sw G N F vs. B Sp)

The higher status of CLT in secondary education is largely due to the fact that instruction in one or more languages other than the national standard language is a traditional and regular component of the (optional) school curriculum, whereas primary education is mainly determined by a monolingual *habitus* (Gogolin, 1994). Within secondary education, however, CLT must compete with 'foreign' languages that have a higher status or a longer tradition. It should further be noted that some countries provide instruction and/or exams in non-standard language varieties. In France, for instance, pupils can take part in examinations for several varieties of Arabic and Berber (Tilmatine, 1997); Sweden offers Kurdish as an alternative to Turkish. From mid-2004 on, the EU member-states have been expanded with the inclusion of the national languages of ten new EU countries. This leads to the paradoxical situation that the national languages of, e.g., the three Baltic States are supported by more positive action ('celebrating linguistic diversity') in multilingual Europe than IM languages like Turkish, spoken by many more people across Europe.

CLT may be part of a largely centralized or decentralized educational policy. In the Netherlands, national responsibilities and educational funds are gradually being transferred to the municipal level, and even to individual schools. In France, government policy is strongly centrally controlled. Germany has devolved most governmental responsibilities to the federal states, with all their differences. Sweden grants far-reaching autonomy to municipal councils in dealing with educational tasks and funding. In general, comparative cross-national references to experiences with CLT in the various EU member-states are rare, or they focus on particular language groups. With a view to the demographic development of European nation-states into multicultural societies, and the similarities in CLT issues, more comparative cross-national research would be highly desirable.

5. Plurilingual development for all children at school

In Europe, language policy has largely been considered a domain, which should be developed within the national boundaries of the different EU nation-states. Proposals for an overarching EU language policy were laboriously achieved and are non-committal in character (Coulmas, 1991). The most important declarations, recommendations, or directives on language policy, each of which carries a different charge in the EU jargon, concern the recognition of the status of (in the order mentioned): national EU languages, 'indigenous' or regional minority (RM) languages, and 'non-territorial' or immigrant minority (IM) languages. On numerous occasions, the EU ministers of education declared that the EU citizens' knowledge of languages should be promoted. Each EU member-state should promote pupils' proficiency in at least two 'foreign' languages, and at least one of these languages should be the official language of an EU member state. Promoting knowledge of RM and/or IM languages was left out of consideration in these ministerial statements. The European Parliament, however, accepted various resolutions which recommended the protection and promotion of RM languages and which led to the foundation of the *European Bureau for Lesser Used Languages* in 1982. Another result of the European Parliament resolutions was the foundation of the European MERCATOR Network, aimed at promoting research into the status and use of RM languages. In March 1998, the *European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages* came into operation. The Charter is aimed at the protection and promotion of RM languages, and it functions as an international instrument for the comparison of legal measures and other facilities of the EU member-states in this policy domain (Craith, 2003).

Bilingual education in national majority languages and RM languages has been an area of interest and research for a long time (Baker, 2001). More recently, local and global perspectives are taken into consideration that go beyond bilingualism and focus on plurilingualism and plurilingual education. Apart from national majority and regional minority languages, the focus is commonly on the learning and teaching of English as a third language, and in this way on promoting trilingualism from an early age on (Cenoz and Genesee, 1998; Cenoz and Jessner, 2000; Beetsma, 2002; Ytsma and Hoffmann, 2003).

As yet, no affirmative initiatives have been taken in the European policy domain of IM languages. It is remarkable that the teaching of RM languages is generally advocated for reasons of cultural diversity as a matter of course, whereas this is rarely a major argument in favor of teaching IM languages. The 1977 guideline of the Council of European Communities on education for IM children (Directive 77/486, dated 25 July, 1977) is now completely outdated. It needs to be put in a new and increasingly multicultural context; it needs to be extended to pupils originating from non-EU countries; and it needs to be given greater binding force in the EU member-states.

There is a great need for educational policies in Europe that take new realities of multilingualism into account. Processes of internationalization and globalization have brought European nation-states to the world, but they have also brought the world to European nation-states. This bipolar pattern of change has led to both convergence and divergence of multilingualism across Europe. On the one hand, English is on the rise as *lingua franca* for international communication across the borders of European nation-states at the cost of all other national languages of Europe, including French. In spite of many objections against the hegemony of English (Phillipson, 2003), this process of convergence will be enhanced by the extension of the EU in an eastward direction. Within the borders of European nation-states, however, there is an increasing divergence of home languages due to large-scale processes of migration and intergenerational minorization.

The call for differentiation of the *monolingual habitus* of primary schools across Europe originates not only bottom-up from IM parents or organizations, but also top-down from supra-national institutions which emphasize the increasing need for European citizens with a transnational and multicultural affinity and identity. Multilingual competencies are considered prerequisites for such an affinity and identity. Both the European Commission and the Council of Europe have published many policy documents in which language diversity is cherished as a key element of the multicultural identity of Europe—now and in the future. This language diversity is considered to be a prerequisite rather than an obstacle for a united European space in which all citizens are equal (not the same) and enjoy equal rights (Council of Europe, 2000). The maintenance of language diversity and the promotion of language learning and plurilingualism are seen as essential elements for the improvement of communication and for the reduction of intercultural misunderstanding.

The European Commission (1995) opted in a so-called *Whitebook* for trilingualism as a policy goal for all European citizens. Apart from the ‘mother tongue’, each citizen should learn at least two ‘community languages’. In fact, the concept of ‘mother tongue’ referred to the national languages of European nation-states and ignored the fact that mother tongue and national language do not coincide for many inhabitants of Europe. At the same time, the concept of ‘community languages’ referred to the national languages of two other EU member-states. In later European Commission documents, reference was made to one foreign language with high international prestige (English was deliberately not referred to) and one so-called ‘neighboring language’. The latter concept related commonly to neighboring countries, never to next-door neighbors.

In a follow-up to the first *European Year of Languages*, proclaimed in 2001, the heads of state and government of all EU member-states gathered in 2002 in Barcelona and called upon the European Commission to take further action to promote multilingualism across Europe, in particular by the learning and teaching of two additional languages from a very young age (Nikolov and Curtain, 2000). The final Action Plan 2004–2006, published by the European Commission (2003) may ultimately lead to an inclusive approach in which IM languages are no longer denied access to Europe’s celebration of language diversity. In particular, the plea for the learning of three languages by all EU citizens, the plea for an early start to such learning experiences, and the plea for offering a wide range of languages to choose from, opens the door to such an inclusive approach. Although this may sound paradoxical, such an approach can also be advanced by accepting the role of English as *lingua franca* for international communication across Europe. Against this background, the following principles are suggested for the enhancement of trilingualism at the primary school level.

- 1 In the primary school curriculum, three languages are introduced for all children:
 - The standard language of the particular nation-state as a major school subject and the major language of communication for the teaching of other school subjects;
 - English as *lingua franca* for international communication;
 - An additional third language chosen from a variable and varied set of *priority languages* at the national, regional, and/or local levels of the multicultural society.
- 2 The teaching of these languages is part of the regular school curriculum and subject to educational inspection.
- 3 Regular primary school reports provide, formally or informally, information on the children’s proficiency in each of these languages.
- 4 National working programmes are established for the priority languages referred to under (1) in order to develop curricula, teaching methods, and teacher training programmes.
- 5 Part of these priority languages may be taught at specialized language schools.

This set of principles is aimed at reconciling *bottom-up* and *top-down* pleas in Europe for the enhancement of trilingualism, and is inspired by large-scale and enduring experiences with the learning and teaching of English (as L1 or L2) and one *Language Other Than English* (LOTE) for all children in Victoria State, Australia (Extra and Yağmur, 2004:99–105). The *Victorian School of Languages* in Melbourne has led to an internationally recognized break-through in the conceptualization of multilingualism in terms of making provisions feasible and mandatory for all children (including L1 English speaking children), in terms of offering a broad spectrum of LOTE provisions (in 2007, more than 40 languages were taught), and in terms of governmental support for these provisions (derived from multicultural policy perspectives).

When in the European context each of the above-mentioned languages should be introduced in the curriculum and whether or when they should be subject or medium of instruction, should be spelled out depending on particular national, regional, or local contexts. Derived from an overarching conceptual and longitudinal framework, priority languages could be specified in terms of both RM and IM languages for the development of curricula, teaching methods, and teacher training programs. Moreover, the increasing internationalization of pupil populations in European schools requires that a language policy be introduced for *all* school children in which the traditional dichotomy between foreign language instruction for indigenous majority pupils and home language instruction for IM pupils is put aside. Given the experiences abroad (e.g., the Victorian School of Languages in Melbourne, Australia), language schools could become centers of expertise where a variety of languages is taught, in particular if the number of children requesting instruction in these languages is low and/or spread over many schools. In line with the proposed principles for primary schooling, similar ideas could be worked out for secondary schools where learning more than one language is already an established practice. Across Europe, the above-mentioned principles would recognize plurilingualism in an increasingly multicultural environment as an asset for all children and for society at large. The EU, the Council of Europe, and UNESCO could function as leading transnational agencies in promoting such concepts. The *UNESCO Universal Declaration of Cultural Diversity* (2002) and the *UNESCO Education Position Paper: Education in a Multilingual World* (2003) are highly in line with the inclusive views expressed here, in particular in its plea to encourage language diversity, to respect the mother tongue at all levels of education, and to foster the learning of more than one language from the youngest age.

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